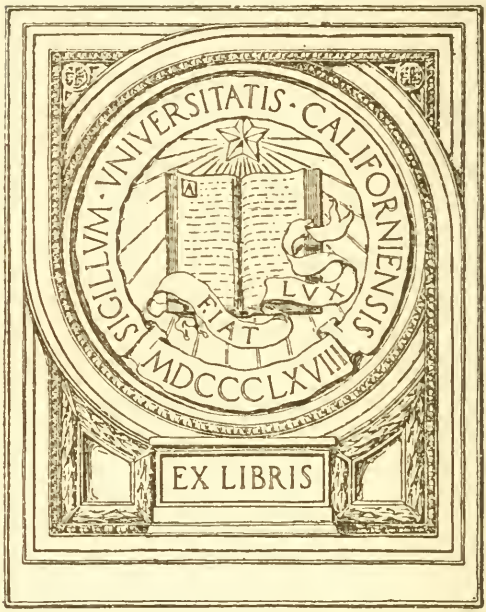
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
AT LOS ANGELES



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2008 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation

http://www.archive.org/details/truefalsedemocra00butl

TRUE AND FALSE DEMOCRACY

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

THE MEANING OF EDUCATION. 1898 *net* $1.00

TRUE AND FALSE DEMOCRACY. 1907 *net* 75c.

THE AMERICAN AS HE IS. 1908 . . *net* 75c

PHILOSOPHY. 1911 . . . . . *net* 75c.

WHY SHOULD WE CHANGE OUR FORM OF GOVERNMENT? 1912 . . . *net* 75c

THE INTERNATIONAL MIND. 1912 . *net* 75c.

TRUE AND FALSE DEMOCRACY

BY

NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER

PRESIDENT OF COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

NEW YORK

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS

1915

148668

Copyright, 1907,
By THE MACMILLAN COMPANY.

JC
433
B97

TO MY FRIEND

JOHN MORLEY

IN GRATEFUL RECOGNITION OF THE VALUE

OF HIS WRITINGS, HIS TEACHINGS

AND HIS LIFE

Preface

If knowledge is power, surely there are times when ignorance seems more powerful still. No lessons are so little learned as those of past human experience in politics. In each succeeding generation men come forward who are rash or foolish enough to attempt any experiment, no matter how discredited, and vain enough to attack any tradition or institution, no matter how fully justified and established. They foment disturbing change and prevent progress.

The name democracy is old, but the thing itself is quite new. Until the rise of public opinion, democracy in the modern sense was not possible. Nevertheless, human nature has been pretty much the same since history began, and human strength and human weakness have been exhibited and tested in almost every possible way. The world may know, if it cares to, how human beings will act under certain circum-

Scan-Lib-94-8126/30-Lib

stances and conditions. Yet we are constantly asked to forget or overlook the teachings of all this experience, and to act politically as if the past political actions of human beings had left no mark.

The modern newspaper has greatly extended the rule of the formula or the phrase. The head-line of to-day is the rallying-cry of to-morrow. A motto is substituted for a principle. The words democracy, democratic, undemocratic, are constantly used in this way for purposes that are either bad or misleading. The appeal is to the mob, not to the people.

It must never be forgotten that the same individuals constitute both the mob and the people. When their lower nature rules, these individuals are a mob: when their higher nature guides, they are the people. The demagogue makes his appeal to the mob: the political leader, the statesman, makes his appeal to the people.

The perfect state of Plato, in which all rulers shall be philosophers, will be at hand when every member of a self-governing community has a clear understanding of what democracy really

means and implies, as well as a character strong enough to fix his own relations to his fellows in accordance with moral principle.

If the papers contained in this little volume contribute in any way to this end, they will have served their purpose.

It is futile to expect a regeneration of man by act of legislature or through a redistribution of the world's goods. Socialism would wreck the world's efficiency for the purpose of redistributing the world's discontent. The moral education of the individual human being to the point where he realizes the squalid poverty of selfishness and the boundless riches of service, will alone lift civilization to a higher plane and make true democracy secure.

Columbia University
May 4, 1907

I

PAGE

True and False Democracy . . . 1

Problems of to-day chiefly economic and social — What is democracy? — Equality versus liberty — Has liberty lost its charm? — The socialist propaganda — Need of a real aristocracy — True versus false democracy — The real representative — Is democracy a failure? Political and economic exploitation — A definition of public property needed — The mob versus the people — The problem of wealth — Effective expression of public opinion — Our three political agencies — Legislative usurpation — The Executive as representative of the people — Confusion of government and administration — Evils of false democracy — Ideals of true democracy.

II

Education of Public Opinion . . . 41

Place of public opinion in a democracy — Public opinion a new creation — Passing of class distinctions — Complex relationships of

PAGE

the individual — The bad citizen — The individual and the mass — Part played by unconscious imitation — Uneven progress of public opinion — The *élite* in a democracy — Relation of the individual to public opinion — The party system — Action independent of party — The leader and the boss — Value of party organization — Business in politics — Individual responsibility for public policy.

III

DEMOCRACY AND EDUCATION 77

Quo vadis? — The new era — Spread of democracy — Equality and liberty — Education and politics — The individual and the state — Education in a democracy — The good citizen — Bad effect of the spoils system — Imperfections of democracy — Triumphant democracy.

TRUE AND FALSE DEMOCRACY

AN ADDRESS

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA ON CHARTER DAY

MARCH 23, 1907

TRUE AND FALSE DEMOCRACY

True and False Democracy

The idols of the market-place, those words and phrases which pass current among men carelessly and without testing, are even more devotedly worshipped to-day than they were when Bacon first described them. We speak lightly and in familiar terms of the words which stand for the greatest achievements of man, and too seldom do we stop to ask ourselves whether we truly grasp and understand their significance. The word democracy is one of these. The theme which it suggests is a fascinating one, and it is worth while to point out some far-reaching distinctions between a democracy which is true and stable, and one which is false and illusory.

Problems of to-day chiefly economic and social

In each of the progressive nations of the earth it is clearly recognized that the pressing questions of the moment are not so much political, in the narrow sense, as they are economic and social.

True and False Democracy

Human welfare, for which in a vague and general way governments were built, has now become in a precise and specific way a main object of government everywhere. The upbuilding of character and intelligence by providing opportunity and instruction; the securing of comfort and prosperity through justice as well as by philanthropy; the protection of the individual from disease as well as from attack, are all tasks of common concern wrought at by a collective agency. Only a beginning has been made in the establishment of this new order of political thought and political action. In Germany, in France, in England, in Italy, in Japan, as well as in America, parliaments and legislatures are busying themselves with these newer problems, the common characteristic of which is that they appear to involve in their solution a vast and rapid extension of the field in which men work collectively through their political agents, rather than individually through their own wills and hands. Those who are alarmed at this tendency and who see in it a force and movement antagonistic to ideals and principles in which they whole-heartedly

believe, name it socialism and call upon us to make war upon it as such. But, as Lord Salisbury told the listening peers years ago, the time has gone by when to call a measure socialistic is a sufficient reason for opposing it. The new proposals must be examined on their merits, and no argument by epithet should be allowed to blind us to the truth, wherever it may be.

True and False Democracy

We Americans approach these present-day problems in the spirit of democracy, and with more than a century of schooling in democracy behind us; but are we quite sure that we know what democracy means and implies? Have we so fast a hold upon principle that not even the allurements of greed and envy or the promptings of angry passion will sweep us from our moorings? For there is a democracy false and a democracy true, and it is just when the economic or social problem presses hardest for solution that the sharp contrast between the two is lost sight of and the line which divides them is blurred. To consider the true and the false conceptions of democracy is to equip ourselves with the armor

True and False Democracy

of sound and well-tested principle to meet the tasks and problems of to-morrow.

Was Lord Byron right when he cried, "What is democracy? — an aristocracy of blackguards!" or was the truth not with Mazzini, who defined democracy as "the progress of all through all, under the leadership of the best and wisest"? Everything depends upon the answer. Perhaps we shall reach the answer most safely and securely if we examine some significant facts in recent political history.

What is Democracy?

Not long ago, within the walls of the Palais Bourbon, a building which bears the name that has passed into literature as the symbol of political reaction and obscurantism, two great orators and statesmen presented to the Chamber of Deputies, in memorable controversy, two conflicting political and social programmes and ideals. It is not too much to say that the debate between M. Jaurès and M. Clemenceau in June, 1906, on the underlying relations between the socialistic programme and the principles of a democratic state, was one of the most significant and prophetic to which the world has listened for many years.

Jaurès presented with lucid fervor the ideal of that socialistic democracy which binds itself to the shibboleth of equality. Clemenceau presented with forceful acumen the conception of an individualist democracy which takes liberty for its watchword. Neither protagonist indicated by his words that he saw or felt the necessary and everlasting contradiction between economic equality and liberty. The formula in which these two terms stand side by side is so dear to the Frenchman who looks back to the Revolution as the date of his emancipation, that perhaps it will be given to others than Frenchmen to see most clearly how complete is the contradiction between liberty and economic equality, and that escape from the contradiction is only to be found in the true conception of the third term of the revolutionary formula, fraternity.

True and False Democracy

Lord Acton, scholar and wise man of the world, whose hope was to live long enough to write the history of liberty in Europe, once said that "The deepest cause which made the French Revolution so disastrous to liberty was its theory of equality. Liberty was the watchword of the middle class,

True and False Democracy

equality of the lower. It was the lower class that won the battles of the third estate; that took the Bastille, and made France a constitutional monarchy; that took the Tuileries, and made France a Republic. They claimed their reward. The middle class, having cast down the upper orders with the aid of the lower, instituted a new inequality and a privilege for itself. By means of a taxpaying qualification it deprived its confederates of their vote. To those, therefore, who had accomplished the Revolution, its promise was not fulfilled. Equality did nothing for them. The opinion, at that time, was almost universal, that society is founded on an agreement which is voluntary and conditional, and that the links which bind men to it are terminable, for sufficient reason, like those which subject them to authority. From these popular premises the logic of Marat drew his sanguinary conclusions. He told the famished people that the conditions on which they had consented to bear their evil lot, and had refrained from violence, had not been kept to them. It was suicide, it was murder, to submit to starve, and to see one's children starving, by the fault of

the rich. The bonds of society were dissolved by the wrong it inflicted. The state of nature had come back, in which every man had a right to what he could take. The time had come for the rich to make way for the poor. With this theory of equality, liberty was quenched in blood, and Frenchmen became ready to sacrifice all other things to save life and fortune." [1]

True and False Democracy

The political and social anarchy which Lord Acton describes must be the inevitable result whenever the passion for economic equality overcomes the love of liberty in men's breasts. For the state is founded upon justice, and justice involves liberty, and liberty denies economic equality; because equality of ability, of efficiency, and even of physical force are unknown among men. To secure an equality which is other than the political equality incident to liberty, the more efficient must be shackled that they may not outrun the less efficient, for there is no known device by which the less efficient can be spurred on to equal the accomplishment of the more efficient. Objective conditions must, of course, be equalized,

Equality versus Liberty

[1] *Quarterly Review*, January, 1878, pp. 133–134.

True and False Democracy

particularly those conditions which are created by the state. But this is true not because such an equality is an end in itself, but because it is essential to liberty.

If we can fix clearly in mind this fundamental contradiction between equality of possessions, equality of capacity, equality of attainment, and liberty, we shall have reached the clew to the distinction between a democracy which is false and spurious, and a democracy which is true and real.

Has Liberty lost its Charm?

When one examines the proposals that are seriously made by responsible men in high place, not in one nation of the earth but in many, he is forced to ask whether liberty, which for four centuries has been a word to conjure with, has lost its hold upon men, and whether we are coming to a pass where democracy is to be reduced to the expedient of some of the ancient tyrannies, and is to be able to maintain itself only by providing bread and a circus for the masses of the people. If by any chance we have come to this pass, or are coming to it, then be assured that it will not be long before a great change will come

over the political and social institutions of mankind, and that it will be a change for the worse.

True and False Democracy

It is hard to bring one's self to believe that liberty has lost its hold, or that a false and spurious equality contradicting every natural law, making progress impossible or only temporary at best, can long lure intelligent men from liberty's path. The abuses of liberty are severe and innumerable. The economic injustices that have not yet been removed are many and apparent. The forms of equality dependent upon true liberty that have not yet been sufficiently established are easy to name. But surely the remedy is not to be found in tearing down the corner-stone of the political fabric, but rather in first clearing away obstructions and débris, and then in building more thoughtfully, more wisely, and more patiently upon it.

The Socialist Propaganda

The socialist propaganda, never more seriously or more ably carried on than now, is an earnest and sincere attempt to escape from conditions that are burdensome and unhappy. Despite its most imperfect interpretation of the economic significance of history and its ringing the changes

on a misleading theory of class consciousness, this propaganda makes an appeal to our favorable judgment because its proclaimed motive is to help the mass of mankind. No just man can quarrel with its aim, but few readers of history or students of human nature can approve its programme. What is it that socialism aims to accomplish by restricting liberty in order to promote economic equality? It seeks to accomplish what it conceives to be a juster economic and political condition. At bottom and without special reference to immediate concrete proposals, socialism would substitute for individual initiative collective and corporate responsibility in matters relating to property and production, in the hope thereby of correcting and overcoming the evils which attach to an individualism run wild. But we must not lose sight of the fact that the corporate or collective responsibility which it would substitute for individual initiative is only such corporate or collective responsibility as a group of these very same individuals could exercise. Therefore, socialism is primarily an attempt to overcome man's individual imperfections by adding them together, in

the hope that they will cancel each other. This is not only bad mathematics, but worse psychology. In pursuing a formula, socialism fails to take account of the facts. Out of the people it would constitute a mob, in forgetfulness of the fact that the mob, led or unled, is the most serious foe that the people have ever had to face. The Roman Republic conquered every enemy but its own vices. With this warning written large across the page of history, what is the lesson of Rome for America?

True and False Democracy

We come back to the conception which Mazzini had of democracy: "The progress of all through all, under the leadership of the best and wisest." True democracy will carry on an insistent search for these wisest and best, and will elevate them to posts of leadership and command. Under the operation of the law of liberty, it will provide itself with real leaders, not limited by rank, or birth, or wealth, or circumstance, but opening the way for each individual to rise to the place of honor and influence by the expression of his own best and highest self. It will exactly reverse the communistic formula, "From each according to his

True and False Democracy

abilities, To each according to his needs," and will uphold the principle, "From each according to his needs, To each according to his abilities." It will take care to provide such a ladder of education and opportunity that the humblest may rise to the very top if he is capable and worthy. The most precious thing in the world is the individual human mind and soul, with its capacity for growth and service. To bind it fast to a formula, to hold it in check to serve the selfish ends of mediocrity, to deny it utterance and expression, political, economic, and moral, is to make democracy impossible as a permanent social and governmental form.

Need of real aristocracy

The United States is in sore need to-day of an aristocracy of intellect and service. Because such an aristocracy does not exist in the popular consciousness, we are bending the knee in worship to the golden calf of money. The form of monarchy and its pomp offer a valuable foil to the worship of money for its own sake. A democracy must provide itself with a foil of its own, and none is better or more effective than an aristocracy of intellect and service recruited from every part of

our democratic life. We must put behind us the fundamental fallacy that equality is demanded by justice. The contrary is the case. Justice demands inequality as a condition of liberty and as a means of rewarding each according to his merits and deserts. Even the Socialist admits this, for Menger has written that "the wealth destined for the immediate satisfaction of desires may, even in the socialist state, be divided unequally, according to the quality and quantity of work performed, the rank occupied by each in the state, and many other factors."

True and False Democracy

Jealousy of power honestly gained and justly exercised, envy of attainment or of possession, are characteristics of the mob, not of the people; of a democracy which is false, not of a democracy which is true. False democracy shouts, Every man down to the level of the average. True democracy cries, All men up to the height of their fullest capacity for service and achievement. The two ideals are everlastingly at war. The future of this nation, as the future of the world, is bound up with the hope of a true democracy that builds itself on liberty.

True versus false democracy

True and False Democracy

True democracy rejects the doctrine that mediocrity is a safeguard for liberty, and points to the fact that the only serious menace to liberty comes from the predominance of monopoly, of privilege, and of majorities. True democracy holds fast to the notion that fixed standards of right and wrong are necessary to its success, and that no resting-place is to be found in the verdict of authorities, of majorities, or of custom. It believes that nothing is settled until it is settled right, and that no fear of majorities and no threats of the powerful should for an instant be allowed to check the agitation to right a wrong or to remedy an abuse. True democracy sings, with Lowell, its own true poet: —

"Then to side with Truth is noble when we share her wretched crust,
Ere her cause bring fame and profit, and 't is prosperous to be just;
Then it is the brave man chooses, while the coward stands aside,
Doubting in his abject spirit, till his Lord is crucified,
And the multitude make virtue of the faith they had denied."

True democracy creates leadership by its con-

fidence and trust, and follows it. False democracy decries leaders and exalts demagogues.

True and False Democracy

A real representative of the people is not their unreflecting mouthpiece or their truckling servant, altering his course to meet each shifting breeze of opinion or puff of passion. He is rather the spokesman for their conscience, their insight, and their judgment as his own deepest and sincerest convictions reveal them to him. Edmund Burke, speaking to the electors of Bristol, expressed perfectly the real duty of a representative to his constituency. He said: —

The real representative

"It ought to be the happiness and glory of a representative to live in the strictest union, the closest correspondence, and the most unreserved communication with his constituents. Their wishes ought to have great weight with him; their opinions high respect; their business unremitted attention. . . . But his unbiassed opinion, his mature judgment, his enlightened conscience, he ought not to sacrifice to you, to any man, or to any set of men living. These he does not derive from your pleasure — no, nor from the law and the constitution. They are a trust from Providence,

True and False Democracy

for the abuse of which he is deeply answerable. Your representative owes you not his industry only, but his judgment; and he betrays, instead of serving you, if he sacrifices it to your opinion. . . . Parliament is not a congress of ambassadors from different and hostile interests, which interests each must maintain, as an agent and advocate, against other agents and advocates; but Parliament is a deliberative assembly of one nation, with one interest, that of the whole — where not local purposes, not local prejudices, ought to guide, but the general good, resulting from the general reason of the whole. You choose a member, indeed; but when he is chosen, he is not a member of Bristol, but a member of Parliament."

What Burke says of Parliament is equally true of the American Congress and of American State Legislatures. Their one proper concern is the interest of the whole body politic, and the true democratic representative is not the cringing, fawning tool of the caucus or of the mob, but he who, rising to the full stature of political manhood, does not take orders but offers guidance. We Americans well know that genuine leadership is

possible in a democratic state, and that an aristocracy of intelligence and service may be built up in a democracy; for the immortal example is found in the life and work and glory of Abraham Lincoln.

True and False Democracy

If, however, the matter were to be left here, some perplexing questions would remain unanswered. For one hundred years and more the people of the United States have maintained a democratic form of government, which has grown from small and simple beginnings to a complicated organism ruling a territory comparable to that of the world's greatest empires. Yet happiness and prosperity have not become universal, nor is justice yet established invariably as between man and man, or as between the individual and the community. For this there are two reasons.

Is democracy a failure?

The first is to be found in human nature itself, with its limitations, its imperfections, its seemingly slow progress toward the highest ethical standards and the surest spiritual insights. For the removal of these obstacles there is no hope in man-made

True and False Democracy

formulas or in governmental policies; education and moral regeneration, taking long periods of time to accomplish their aims, are the only instrumentalities to which we can hopefully turn.

The second reason, however, lies somewhat closer at hand. It is to be found, I conceive, in the lack of adjustment between the responsibility and oversight of the community, acting through its governmental agents, and the exercise of individual initiative in matters relating to property and production. This lack of adjustment is traceable in turn to the rapid changes which the past generation or two have brought about in our economic and industrial life. To keep pace with these changes, and to secure justice without sacrificing liberty, is now the purpose and the hope of true democracy everywhere.

Political and economic exploitation

What chiefly attracts attention at the moment as an element of serious injustice, is the institution, under the guise of liberty or freedom, of what is really a form of economic dependence or slavery, which is usually described as the exploitation of man by man. If this exploitation, or use and

oppression of one man by another, were shown to be a necessary and inevitable result of society as now ordered and established, then might we well believe that the socialist propaganda, if it could make clear that socialism would bring such exploitation to an end, would go forward with increasing energy and success. But it must be pointed out that the exploitation of one individual by another is not a necessary, but an incidental, consequence of the existing social order, and that, bad as it is, its results are in no sense comparable with the evils of the exploitation of one by all, which is a necessary consequence of the establishment of a socialistic democracy. For the exploitation of one by all puts an end to liberty. We should not gain anything by substituting the more injurious form of exploitation for the less injurious; we should, rather, lose much. The real problem of democracy is to prevent both forms of exploitation, either that of one man by another or that of one man by the community. To prevent this exploitation, or rather to reduce it to the narrow and necessary limits set by nature itself, and to take away from it all causes added by the grant of

True and False Democracy

True and False Democracy

monopoly and privilege, are clear duties of present-day democracy. How shall democracy proceed to this task?

If the exaggerated forms of exploitation which are now observed among us are studied with care, it will be seen that, almost without exception, they spring from community-given monopoly or privilege. They do not spring from the relation between individual and individual, or from the institution of private property itself. They spring from the relation between individual and community. Those relations would be multiplied, not diminished, in a socialistic democracy. The only hope for the abolition of exploitation in a socialistic democracy, therefore, is the regeneration of man and the removal of those natural obstacles to human perfection which are so plainly in evidence. In other words, the socialistic democracy assumes, and must assume for the success of its programme, a condition of individual perfection which the whole of history denies. The lack of this individual perfection gives rise to the evils of the present hour, and it would continue to give rise to the same evils, but in an

exaggerated form, if the socialistic democracy were to be established.

True and False Democracy

If what is properly called exploitation is to be prevented, this can only be accomplished, I conceive, by developing with clearness and precision a concept of public property which shall have an ethical foundation and a legal as well as a social sanction. The ethical foundation for the concept of private property, and the legal and social sanctions for it, are perfectly clear and well known. The concept of public property is not in so fortunate a condition. It needs elaboration and definition. If we can arrive at this elaboration and definition of the concept of public property, then we may safely assign control of public property to the government and exclude the individual from any share in that control. On the borderland between public and private property there will be found many instances of doubtful classification. Expediency and experience will indicate on which side of the line a given case should fall. But there may wisely be established an intermediate class of undertakings, not to be regarded as wholly private and not to be regarded as wholly

A definition of public property needed

True and False Democracy

public, in respect to which individual initiative shall prevail under such terms as the state regulation and oversight may prescribe. Along these lines and on this basis a true democracy can bring so-called exploitation to an end without endeavoring to establish a false equality, and holding fast meanwhile to true liberty. This is a practicable and a practical programme to be set over against the impracticable and unpractical programme offered by the socialist propaganda.

The mob versus the people

In working out this prgramme we must take care to protect ourselves against the mob — a mass of men whose powers of reflection and judgment are unhorsed and who are driven by the force of blind passion; for any social or political reconstruction whets the mob's appetite and stirs its passions.

In his extraordinary characterization of the conditions preceding and accompanying the French Revolution, Taine pictured with skilful verisimilitude the characteristics of the mob which parades in the garb of democracy. He spoke of its mistrust of its natural leaders, of the great, of the wealthy, of persons in office and clothed with

authority, as being inveterate and incurable. He described the sovereignty of unrestrained passions, which is the final and bloody end of mob rule. There are those among us who understand the mob so well that they sedulously and skilfully endeavor to bring to pass just such a state of affairs as Taine described. These wreckers of society, unrestrained by principle and unhampered by conviction, are playing with the fire of human passion and mob violence. They attack a conception of democracy which is true, in its every aspect, in the hope that they may enthrone in its stead a democracy which is false and futile. They begin by playing upon the term "labor." Taking note of the fact that the world's workers constitute all but an insignificant remnant of the world's citizenship, they would set one form of labor against another, and confuse and confound the meaning of the term "labor" itself. All the world over, these mischief-makers, when they put forth an academic theory, use the term "labor" in a way to include every form of productive activity. For that purpose the inventor, the overseer, the manager, the guide, and inspirer

True and False Democracy

True and False Democracy

of an undertaking, is a laborer; but when from the height of academic theory they come down to the plane of popular agitation, then they make the term "labor" apply to manual labor alone. It is true that leading economic writers themselves are responsible for the widespread confusion between these two uses of the term "labor." As a matter of fact, ordinary manual labor is just the opposite of what the socialist supposes it to be. Instead of being the sole instrument in the production of wealth, as the modern world knows wealth, it is a subordinate element in that production. Manual labor is always essential, to be sure, but manual labor alone does not now produce, nor has it ever produced, much more than a mere minimum of subsistence. All of the increment in production which has made the modern world possible, is due to the directing faculty, to the capacity to organize, to manage, and to apply. These powers and capacities operate both through labor and through capital. Therefore, to attempt to substitute the mob for the people, manual labor for labor in all its forms, and economic equality for liberty, is to destroy

all those institutions and accomplishments upon which man's progress has rested for three thousand years, and which man's progress during that period has developed and applied in so astounding a fashion. *True and False Democracy*

Sainte-Beuve once divided authors into two classes — *ceux qui agitent le monde et ceux qui le civilisent.* So we may divide statesmen and leaders of public opinion into those who disturb the world and those who advance its civilization. The touchstone will be their attitude toward wealth. It is wealth — accumulated possessions of value in excess of immediate needs — that makes leisure possible, and with leisure comes genuine human living, civilization. The world wants more wealth, not less. To aim to destroy wealth, to make its accumulation impossible or personally disadvantageous, is to disturb and distress the world, and, ultimately, every one in it. To seek to promote wealth, to secure its just distribution and its proper use, is to advance the world's civilization. It is not money, much less wealth, which is the root of all evil, but the love of money. The cruel lust for gain, which stifles **The problem of wealth**

every generous instinct and all desire for justice, is the despicable thing, and that is a purely personal characteristic which no law can reach. Nothing but a sense of honor and decency, an appreciation of true values, and a genuinely moral view of life, will cure that distressing and painfully contagious disease. To hurl at a moral and intellectual delinquency such as this, the denunciations and restrictions of the law, or to inveigh against wealth as such, is only to invite such a scathing rebuke as Professor Clifford's invective against Christianity called out from Matthew Arnold when he wrote: —

"These are merely the crackling fireworks of youthful paradox. One reads it all, half smiling, half sighing, as the declamation of a clever and confident youth, with the hopeless inexperience, irredeemable by any cleverness, of his age. Only when one is young and headstrong can one thus prefer bravado to experience, can one stand by the Sea of Time, and, instead of listening to the solemn and rhythmical beat of its waves, choose to fill the air with one's own whoopings to start the echo." [1]

[1] Introduction to *God and the Bible*.

Doubtless the mob will prefer cheering its own whoopings to listening to the solemn and rhythmical beat of the waves of the Sea of Time, but we must set our face against the mob, now and always, whether it wears the clothes of fashion or the workman's blouse, and whether it is vicious and violent or merely addle-pated and sullen. *True and False Democracy*

The surest antidote to the mob and its violence and passion is to secure, in orderly and legal form, after due consideration and discussion, the prompt and effective execution of the people's will and to give voice to the people's judgments and aspirations. This raises some interesting questions. **Effective expression of public opinion**

In our own form of government there are established three independent, but coöperating, powers and agencies for representing the people and for executing their will — the executive, the legislative, and the judicial agency. Each immediately represents the people in its own way and in its own sphere, and that sphere is and should remain inviolate. Somehow or other the curious notion has been spread abroad that the legislative agency, the members of which are chosen at short intervals and by small constituencies, more **Our three political agencies**

True and False Democracy

fully and directly represents the people than does either the executive or the judicial branch of the government. Members of the legislative branch of the government have themselves actively spread abroad this notion both by words and by acts. It is, however, not only untrue in theory, but it is ludicrously falsified by the facts. As matters are to-day, and as they have been for a generation past, the Congress of the United States, the legislative branch of the national government, is far inferior to the executive and the judicial branches, as a direct and effective representative of the will and purpose of the people of the United States. It is primarily the President and the Supreme Court who speak the people's maturest mind and who express, in spoken and written word, in administrative act and in judicial decision, the highest will of the whole people.

Moreover, ever since the Civil War the Congress has steadily invaded the province of the President, and has long been asserting control, directly or indirectly, over his administrative acts. At the moment, it is being urged to invade the prerogatives of the judiciary, and to curtail and regulate

the proceedings in equity of the United States courts — a field in which the Congress has the same right and authority that it has in Corea or in British India, no more and no less. The language of the Constitution is perfectly plain: "The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish." The judicial power as it existed at the time of the adoption of the Constitution is, therefore, beyond the power of the Congress to restrict or diminish. The Congress may establish courts inferior to the Supreme Court, but surely, when such courts are established, they are entitled to exercise the judicial power as the framers of the Constitution knew it.

True and False Democracy

This invasion of the executive and judicial powers by the legislature is often accompanied by an effort to convince the people at large that the executive power is in some subtle way antagonistic to democracy, and, moreover, that the executive is invading or has invaded the province of the legislature. This latter cry, as insincere as it is false, is invariably raised whenever it is de-

Legislative usurpation

True and False Democracy

sired to distract public attention from an invasion of the executive by the legislature, or when some private or privileged interest wishes to ward off from itself the execution of the people's laws. James Madison understood thoroughly well the dangers of legislative encroachment. In the *Federalist*,[1] he wrote of the Legislative Department that "its constitutional powers, being at once more extensive, and less susceptible of precise limits, it can, with the greater facility, mask, under complicated and intricate measures, the encroachments which it makes on the coördinate departments."

In the same exposition he added: "In a government where numerous and extensive prerogatives are placed in the hands of an hereditary monarch, the executive department is very justly regarded as the source of danger, and watched with all the jealousy which a zeal for liberty ought to inspire. In a democracy, where a multitude of people exercise in person the legislative functions, and are continually exposed, by their incapacity for regular deliberation and concerted measures, to

[1] No. 48.

the ambitious intrigues of their executive magistrates, tyranny may well be apprehended, on some favorable emergency, to start up in the same quarter. But in a representative republic, where the executive magistracy is carefully limited, both in the extent and the duration of its power; and where the legislative power is exercised by an assembly, which is inspired, by a supposed influence over the people, with an intrepid confidence in its own strength; which is sufficiently numerous to feel all the passions which actuate a multitude, yet not so numerous as to be incapable of pursuing the objects of its passions, by means which reason prescribes; it is against the enterprising ambition of this department that the people ought to indulge all their jealousy and exhaust all their precautions."

True and False Democracy

As a matter of fact, if our American political experience proves anything, it proves that the executive branch of the government is the most efficient representative and spokesman that the popular will has. So it was with Lincoln in the Civil War; so it was with Cleveland in the struggle for a sound monetary system; so it is with Roose-

True and False Democracy

velt in the battle against privilege and greed. Indeed in a very real sense the popular will in the United States has no other representative, for political purposes, than the President. The President of the United States is chosen by the whole people with a view to his personality, his temperament, his private convictions, and his political principles. The people know who he is and all about him. When chosen he owes no responsibility to the Congress, but to the people of the United States alone. When he lays down his office he lays it down to the one whom the people have chosen to succeed him; but so long as he exercises its power he exercises it in the people's name and in the people's sight. On the other hand, the system, unfortunate in high degree, of small constituencies having individual representatives in state and national legislatures who are almost uniformly residents of the districts for which they are elected, has reduced to a minimum the truly representative capacity and efficiency of those bodies and has deprived them of many elements of power. For it is well-nigh a political axiom that large constituencies make

The executive a representative of the people

independent representatives and that small constituencies make tools and ciphers. We must not forget how much farther a bullet will carry than a few score of small shot.

True and False Democracy

Where is it that private interest goes when it wishes to burke an expression of the popular will?

Not to the executive, not to the private chambers of the judges, but to the committee-rooms and to the floor of the legislative assemblies in state and nation. There responsibility is so divided, there secrecy is so easy, that measures demanded by the people may be done to death, despite the urging of national and state executives. As matters stand to-day, states and syndicates have senators; districts and local interests have representatives; but the whole people of the United States have only the President to speak for them and to do their will.

True democracy, therefore, while seeking by all possible means to improve the quality of its legislatures and to make them representative of principles and ideas rather than of special and local interests, will strengthen the executive arm and protect it from legislative invasion in matters

True and False Democracy

purely administrative. It will, through constitutional forms and by limitation of term, hold the executive strictly answerable for the discharge of his duty and for the bearing of his responsibility.

Confusion of government and administration

We are constantly told by the prophets of false democracy that the efficient administration which is secured by single responsible agents is undemocratic. The notion of these false prophets is, I suppose, that no man can be justly convicted of crime in a democracy until each of his fellow-citizens in turn has mounted the bench and passed upon the evidence. They appear to believe that no administrative act can be truly democratic unless the people *en masse* assemble to institute and to approve it. This doctrine, constantly repeated by the unthinking, is both absurd in itself and the *reductio ad absurdum* of government. It not only separates decision from deliberation, but it misses the fundamental distinction between government and administration. No government is democratic which does not spring from the people's will, and which is not answerable to the people in forms and ways that the people themselves have determined. Administration, on the

other hand, is merely the transaction of the people's business, and a democracy is as well entitled as a monarchy to have its business well and promptly done. It will, therefore, if its democracy is true, adopt precisely the modes and agencies of administration that any business undertaking would adopt to secure similar aims. It is a false, spurious, and misleading democracy that would destroy efficiency in working out the people's policies by insisting that all the people shall join in working them out. The people determine, the people's agent executes. When we get this distinction clearly in mind we shall cease to be troubled by many so-called reforms that are urged upon us in democracy's name.

True and False Democracy

One unfortunate effect of the false conceptions of democracy that are now so widespread among us is the steady decline in reverence and respect in the United States, not only for age, attainment, and authority, but for law itself. The essence of democracy is not subordination, but association; yet the object of this association is obedience to government as the result of a common deliberation through duly constituted authorities. To those

Evils of false democracy

148668

True and False Democracy

authorities respect is due by every real democrat. The mob yields none and will yield none.

Many causes have contributed no doubt to bring about this decline in respect and reverence for authority and law. The weakening of religious faith, the loosening of the bonds of parental control, the absence of real discipline from school life, have all been at work to undermine the foundations of respect and reverence. We shall never get back to a true democracy, however, until the majesty of the law excites reverence and respect on its own account; until the family bond is drawn closer and tighter, and until children honor their parents as they did of old; and until the school understands that abdication of authority is not a solution for the difficulties of discipline.

Ideals of true democracy

A free state built upon free labor, with liberty for its watchword and justice as its guide, is the ideal of a true democracy — that form of society, which Lowell characterized so suggestively if incompletely as one in which every man has a chance and knows that he has it. To the hectic, emotional radicalism which clamors for the exaltation

of the mediocre and the unfit, and upon which false democracy builds, true democracy will oppose a healthy, intellectual radicalism that will seek to see life steadily and to see it whole; a radicalism that will aim to redress old wrongs without inflicting new ones. This radicalism of true democracy — if it be radicalism — sees the end of a perfected individualism not in selfishness but in service, not in isolation but in fraternity. It has no idle dreams of Nature dethroned and Artifice exalted in her stead. It sees in the dedicated life the ideal of Liberty's best product. It dares to hope that of this twentieth century and of this fair land of ours, it will not be impossible for another Macaulay some day to write: —

True and False Democracy

"Then none was for a party;
Then all were for the state;
Then the great man helped the poor,
And the poor man helped the great:
Then lands were fairly portioned;
Then spoils were fairly sold:
The Romans were like brothers
In the brave days of old."

EDUCATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

AN ADDRESS

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN ON COMMENCEMENT DAY,

JUNE 22, 1899

EDUCATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

Education of Public Opinion

Pericles, in his immortal panegyric upon the Athenian people, describes as accomplished fact in Athens a state of affairs which every philosophical expounder of democracy has pictured as an ideal. "An Athenian citizen," said the man whom Grote describes as having enjoyed for forty years an unparalleled moral and political ascendency over them, "An Athenian citizen does not neglect the state because he takes care of his own household; and even those of us who are engaged in business have a very fair idea of politics. We alone regard a man who takes no interest in public affairs, not as a harmless, but as a useless character; and if few of us are originators, we are all sound judges of a policy." [1]

It is not inappropriate to summon cultivated men and women, peculiarly fortunate in the enjoyment of those educational advantages which

[1] Thucydides, translated by Jowett, 1 : 19.

Education of Public Opinion

only free, enlightened, and generous commonwealths can offer, to consider some aspects of the relation in which the individual citizen stands to the development of public opinion and to the conduct of public business in a democracy.

Place of public opinion in a democracy

The political vitality and integrity of a modern state must rest, in the last instance, upon the character and clearness of the political opinions held by men who are without official station. No administrative vigor and no legislative wisdom can long survive in the vacuum of public ignorance and indifference. A supporting body of opinion is essential to the conduct of legislative or administrative policy, and a serious and high-principled opposition is necessary to prevent its exaggeration and abuse. The basis for this observation lies in the constitution of human nature itself. It is amply illustrated by history.

Political action on the part of a community or a state is the result of the interplay of two forces, the propelling and the resisting. Taken together and increased by the religious and the moral sentiments of the people, these political beliefs and tendencies to act constitute what is known as public opinion.

Education of Public Opinion

It is a subtle, powerful, and sometimes terrible force. Like the mountain stream which ripples softly in the sunlight, giving no sign of the foaming and destructive torrent into which a sudden cloudburst may transform it, so public opinion, patient and long-suffering, at times seeming even dead, is capable of being roused to fury and to resolute resistance by some flagrant abuse of power or by an unprincipled violation of accepted standards of action. Sir Robert Peel hardly measured its breadth and depth when with cynical insight he described public opinion as "that great compound of folly, weakness, prejudice, wrong feeling, right feeling, obstinacy, and newspaper paragraphs."

Public opinion a new creation

Public opinion is not very old. It is the child of the art of printing, of modern education, of modern means of communication, of modern democracy. Printing and education made it possible. Steam and electricity have developed it enormously. Democracy has caused it to grow through exercise. As democratic tendencies and habits have spread, as the circle of human information and human interest has widened, as the

Education of Public Opinion

means of communication between man and man and between man and the world about him have expanded and multiplied, the complexity of public opinion has greatly increased; and while the difficulty of arousing it has diminished, the difficulty of directing it has increased many fold.

As a matter of fact we enter upon the twentieth century under unprecedented political conditions. Most early democracies were in reality oligarchies. Modern theoretical democracy was quite as often oligarchical in fact. Jefferson, like Aristotle, contemplated democracy and human slavery side by side. But now the level of average intelligence and of education has been so raised, and man's power over nature has so multiplied the possibilities of political, moral, and religious sympathy and coöperation, that for the first time in history the stage seems to be adequately set for the working out of the impressive drama of democracy. The builders of the American Republic were, most of them, theoretical democrats; but the forces which they controlled and the means by which they controlled them were to an unsuspected extent oligarchical. More than one election in old New York, as so

often in the history of England, turned wholly upon the alignment of a few great families. The French revolutionists came to be theoretical democrats, but woe to the leaders of an opposing faction whose opposition took on the form of action! To-day the situation in the United States is notably different. If men are held here in political bondage, so called, it is because they put the shackles on themselves. Accurate description of their condition must always use a reflexive verb. Freedom of speech and of opinion are so well established and so uniformly acquiesced in, that public declarations and acts of a kind which one day cost More his head on Tower Hill or drove Roger Williams from Massachusetts Bay, are now permitted in Boston and in Chicago without restraint, or any call to accountability, despite the fact that they may tend to cost the lives of American soldiers and sailors serving under the flag half-way round the world. In the long run it is better so. A safety-valve is as necessary as a steam-chest.

This state of affairs has come about through the slow process of social and political evolution. The

Passing of class distinctions

Estates which underlay the entire legal structure of the Middle Ages and gave form to its political history, dissolved and gave way to more mobile and less definite social classes. These, in turn, have so interpenetrated each other that, in the United States at least, their significance has disappeared, and a single body politic, through which flow unending convection currents, has taken their place. No artificial class distinctions can long prevail in a society like ours, of which it is truly said to be often but three generations "from shirt-sleeves to shirt-sleeves."

Complex relationships of the individual

The first effect of this new condition is that, theoretically at least, individual choice displaces status as the force directing public action. The citizen now throws his influence as he wills and not as his fixed relation to his fellows dictates. He has no such fixed relation. Modern legal and social organization makes him employer and employed, debtor and creditor, public servant and private citizen, all at once or in startlingly rapid succession. His individual importance is vastly increased as his points of contact with other individuals or with groups multiply. He becomes less

and less a cog on a blindly driven wheel and more and more a living cell in a living body. His political and social health and strength influence the health and strength of countless others. He cannot, if he would, cut himself off from them and live. There is no greater illusion and none more at war with the very spirit of democracy than that under whose spell public concerns are neglected and despised and one's immediate private and family interests exalted as the sole business of life. Liberty and property are social creations. Without society they could not exist. Without a well-ordered society they are not safe. Who shall order society well or ill? The time is happily past when that question can be answered in more ways than one. But let us press the question of responsibility home: there is no abstraction, no independent creation called state or government, which can order society. These are but names for one aspect or one agency of ourselves. We paraphrase the dictum of Louis XIV. and thank him for it — "The State — we are it!"

Education of Public Opinion

Burke pointed straight at the typical bad citizen when he described those "who think their innox-

The bad citizen

Education of Public Opinion

ious indolence their security." The man who submits to public imposition to save trouble or trifling expense, or who pays to be "let alone," or who, priding himself upon his integrity and business success, affects to "despise politics," is contributing his mite to the degradation of government and to the tearing down of the structure so laboriously and so painfully builded by the fathers. John Hampden's ship-money was but a few paltry shillings; not to have resisted its payment might have altered the course of English history. It is only when we "place every one his private welfare and happiness in the public peace, liberty, and safety," as Milton puts it, that we exercise our privilege and perform our duty as members of society.

The individual and the mass

The relation in which the individual stands to the development of public opinion is a matter which requires analysis. It is not quite so simple as appears at first sight. Theoretically, when a question is to be decided or a public attitude taken, each individual examines and weighs the evidence and the arguments for and against a given policy, and arrives at his own independent conclusion.

A count is then made, by ballot or otherwise, and the action or proposal which is approved by a majority of those expressing themselves is supported or indorsed. Each citizen appears to have the same part to play as his neighbor, and the same influence to exercise in determining the result. As a matter of fact, however, the process is a quite different one.

Education of Public Opinion

Bagehot has an interesting passage in which he shows how large a factor unconscious imitation is in the making of national character. "At first a sort of 'chance predominance' made a model, and then invincible attraction, the necessity which rules all but the strongest men to imitate what is before their eyes, and to be what they are expected to be, moulded men by that model. This is, I think, the very process by which new national characters are being made in our time. . . . A national character is but the successful parish character; just as the national speech is but the successful parish dialect, the dialect, that is, of the district which came to be more — in many cases but a little more — influential than other districts, and so set its yoke on books and on

Part played by unconscious imitation

Education of Public Opinion

society."[1] It is obvious that when we speak of the Age of Elizabeth or the Napoleonic era, we mean something very like this. We are describing or recalling types, tendencies, and standards, which, particular or even individual in their origin, spread themselves, through the working of imitation conscious or unconscious, over an entire people for a generation or more.

When we endeavor to direct public opinion or to study its genesis, we are surprised and astonished to find how small a share the ordinary individual has in making up his own mind; and while claiming independence, how largely he is dependent on forces and influences with which the student of psychology and of history is very familiar. This is due, in the first place, to the very small part which genuine thinking plays in the life of any of us. We are a bundle of reactions, and those reactions which are systematically directed by serious and sustained thought are not very numerous. Except for the purpose of living up to our reputation as human beings and for emergencies, most of us could get on very well with considerably

[1] Bagehot, *Physics and Politics*, pp. 36, 37.

diminished brain surface. Dr. Maudsley put the matter correctly when he said: "To say that the great majority of men reason in the true sense of the word, is the greatest nonsense in the world; they get their beliefs as they do their instincts and their habits, as a part of their inherited constitution, of their education, and the routine of their lives." The part which we thoughtlessly attribute to thought in guiding our beliefs and our actions, is really played, for the most part, by feeling and by imitation. We grow up Republicans or Democrats, Presbyterians or Episcopalians; we do not reason ourselves — as a rule — into the one form of belief or the other, be it political or religious. We find our way naturally into a group or class by reason of hereditary tendencies, family example, or influence, and that impalpable ether of surrounding opinion, which, despite its impalpability, regulates so much of our mental breathing. Then we energetically support our faith-formed convictions with *ex parte* reasons which appeal to the intellect. Like the Schoolmen, the motto of most of us is *Credo, ut intelligam.* We believe first and defend our beliefs afterward.

Education of Public Opinion

I do not for a moment intend to convey the impression that we should hold no belief and take no action for which an impartially reasoned theory cannot be given. Such a doctrine would bring civilization to a standstill through paralysis; for the average individual has neither the capacity nor the opportunity to examine in a sternly judicial fashion the beliefs and the tendencies to act which come surging through his experience. But we should look the facts in the face, and "render therefore unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's." We should give the feelings and the imitative instinct their due. When we do this we shall come nearer to understanding how that public opinion of which we and our neighbors are a part is formed, and how it may be and is changed or developed. Otherwise we shall lose sight of the all-important fact which Montesquieu long ago pointed out, that as society grows older the individual influences the community less and the community shapes the individual more. Indeed, formal education itself is neither more nor less than this shaping of the individual by the community, and the bending of him to its traditions, its habits, its

convictions, — in short, to its will. The conscious reason of any individual, as compared to the sum total of his apparently rational but really extra-rational possessions, is in the position of the apex of an inverted pyramid. One is forcibly reminded by it of the way in which Hume and Mill undertake to explain our belief in an external world, from the momentary flashes of a given consciousness.

Education of Public Opinion

It is an illusion of some writers on democracy that the march of public opinion moves on with the evenness and the regularity of an army on parade. The contrary is the case. If from some distant planet we might be so endowed as to view public opinion pressing forward in the United States, we should find its skirmish-line serried and broken. Here on one side of the field some daring and creative leader has dashed ahead and occupied an exposed height with his small band of followers, and is calling upon the troops to follow and to join him. But they, interested in other directions, are a long time in hearing and a still longer time in heeding his call. We readily recognize that it has been after this fashion that

Uneven progress of public opinion

Education of Public Opinion

the movements for the reform of the civil service and of the ballot were set in motion; it is in this way that one needed political reform after another will be brought about. A little leaven will leaven the whole lump. In so far Matthew Arnold's discouraging doctrine of the remnant has some significance for us.

The *élite* in a democracy

It is true, as Le Bon says, that the advances of civilization are due to the small phalanx of eminent men which each civilized people possesses. Least of all can a democracy hope to succeed without an *élite* of its own. Only we must see to it that this *élite* is recruited from talent or capacity for public service of whatever kind, and is not artificially limited by conditions of birth or of wealth. In this respect I like to think that our practice is in advance of our rather shabby theory as to equality. Nature knows no such thing as equality. It is a human invention thrown up as an artificial barrier against selfishness and tyranny. The law of life is the development of the heterogeneous, the dissimilar, the unequal. It tends away from the dull inefficiency of uniform equality toward the high effectiveness of well-organized

differences. Destroy inequality of talent and capacity, and life as we know it stops. Democracy becomes unthinkable. The corner-stone of democracy is natural inequality, its ideal the selection of the most fit. Liberty is far more precious than equality, and the two are mutually destructive. It is said that if all the hills and mountains of Europe were levelled off, it would result in producing a barren, dismal plain some nine hundred and odd feet higher than the present shore-line. The beauty and the productiveness of a continent would be gone. If all the wealth of the United States were divided equally among the population, it is estimated that we should each possess a capital of about $1100. Industry would be reduced to the lowest level ever known in modern times, everything which makes life agreeable would go out of it, and we should all be driven to a conflict and struggle for a bare subsistence to which the state of primitive war described by Hobbes would be as nothing.

Education of Public Opinion

In practice, however, we are more reasonable. Our human delight in achievement thrusts our book-made theory aside, and we cheerfully recog-

Education of Public Opinion

nize leadership and public benefaction, though we know we could not have done as well. A sort of race or national *pietas* is an excellent trait to cultivate, and we need more of it rather than less. Our occasional outbursts of appreciation and affection toward a public servant or representative whose achievements have been specially noteworthy, are creditable in high degree. Such tributes ennoble the people who have delighted to pay them, and they whisper to us that after all the only equality we really believe in is equality of rights and of opportunity.

Relation of the individual to public opinion

The individual who realizes what public opinion is and what is his own proper relation to it has, then, two things to bear in mind: (1) what he does not know, and (2) who knows it. It is his duty so to master some field of human interest and activity, however humble or however small, that he can, as to it, offer something to his neighbor worthy of imitation and of rational acceptance. It is his duty, too, to seek the best and highest models for imitation and rational acceptance in fields apart from his own, and to recognize excellence and fitness wherever found and to defer

to them. The crude and dangerous notion that any citizen is as well fitted as his neighbor for any public post is not a tenet of democracy, but of ochlocracy, rule by the mob. *Education of Public Opinion*

For the conduct of public business the party system has been devised and slowly perfected, until in England and in the United States it has reached a high degree of organization and efficiency. Its influence in shaping, in controlling, and in expressing public opinion is so enormous that it deserves most careful consideration. **The party system**

Political parties had their origin in personal interests which it was desired to transform into public policies, and they are very far from having lost that characteristic to-day. Yet they, and they alone, make popular government possible, and the individual has a duty toward them which is neither fulfilled nor commuted by the denunciation of party abuses or by cynical contempt for party limitations and shortcomings. Men must coöperate, and to coöperate for political purposes is to be a member of a political party. One may be a member of a party formally and so hope to exercise some influence upon its policies, or he

may support it generally without professing allegiance to its public declarations or loyalty to its leaders. In the latter case, he destroys almost all chance of being heard concerning constructive policies and measures, and in return gains perhaps something in the power of free and destructive criticism; although this is on the whole doubtful. In any event, he makes, in my judgment, a distinct sacrifice, and impairs his influence as a factor in shaping public opinion. I assent cordially to the doctrine that a political party is a means and not an end, and to the claim that the upright and conscientious citizen will at times be forced to separate himself from his party associations because of his objection to some party policy or to some party representative. But this ought to be an unusual and abnormal act, and never taken without due regard for a sense of proportion and after careful weighing of the probable influence of the act upon remote as well as upon immediate ends. It is not infrequently good judgment in politics to bear those ills we have rather than fly to others that we know not of.

As a practical matter, it has been a distinct gain

to our American politics that during the past twenty years there have been influential individuals and groups, and influential journals, which have professed and acted upon a policy of independence of party. This is particularly true where has been discovered that basest device of partisans, an open or concealed alliance of the party organizers of both parties against political virtue and disinterested public service. In such a case, a guerilla warfare on behalf of virtue and decency is about all that is possible, and it ought always to be waged unceasingly. The inveterate independent does a public service so long as his independence is certainly based on principle and is without suspicion of personal feeling. He must, however, resign himself to being effective only through criticism, and at the risk of his critical habit becoming censoriousness and querulousness. The public quickly resent either. If he is able, now and then, to accomplish any constructive work in the field of legislation, his agent will prove to have been either the political party he has lately left or the political party he has not yet joined.

Education of Public Opinion

Action independent of party

But an extension of the policy of acting in small,

Education of Public Opinion

indefinite, swiftly evaporating groups, outside of the large party organizations and in opposition to them, would be a distinct loss and a danger to our political system. An independent vote which must be reasoned with and convinced, and which is able to turn the scale of success now in one direction and now in another, is a most admirable political stimulant. It spurs the parties on to their best efforts, and exerts an influence out of all proportion to its numbers. Yet to disintegrate political parties in the interest of cross-voting of all kinds and on all occasions would be disastrous. To see to what it would lead, one has only to recall the kaleidoscopic changes of former years in the government of France, based upon successive votes in the Chamber of Deputies, or to recall the methods by which Bismarck was accustomed to build up a parliamentary majority in the Reichstag. In this matter, as in others, it is not wise to overlook the saying of Aristotle, in his *Politics:* "Two principles have to be kept in view: what is possible, what is becoming; at these every man ought to aim." To fail to see the possible in politics in the pursuit of the becoming, is to forbid

accomplishment. Such an one is like the Horatian rustic: — *Education of Public Opinion*

> Rusticus expectat dum defluat amnis; at ille
> Labitur et labetur in omne volubilis aevum.

On the other hand, to fail to see the becoming in clutching at the possible, is to fall into the habit of opportunism, of shifting compromise, which can only end by reducing principle to interest. The true spirit of compromise, as marked off from the spurious, will consider, with Aristotle, both the possible and the becoming, and it will be manifested by "a wise suspense in forming opinions, a wise reserve in expressing them, and a wise tardiness in trying to realize them." [1]

The leader and the boss

Political parties, like armies, need leaders, and leaders develop for them. Whether the leader be competent, patriotic, and responsible, or ignorant, selfish, and irresponsible, depends upon circumstances. In the latter case, he is that now familiar and ominous product of our political system, the Boss, of which public opinion cannot too soon take proper account. Where the Boss is most powerful, we may observe in practical operation

[1] Morley, *On Compromise*, p. 94.

a system of government which is unknown to our laws, and which under the fair forms of democracy has reverted to oligarchy of the most brutal and grasping type. It bullies the weak, overawes the timid, bribes the ambitious, and buys outright the stubborn opponent who shrewdly takes that way of making himself valuable to it. A Boss never leads; he drives. The distinction between a political leader and a political Boss is perfectly clear. The leader studies only the public good and party success as contributing toward it. He draws to himself the strongest, the wisest, and the best of those who bear his party's name. He urges forward talent and capacity; he represses presuming ignorance and self-seeking. He rests his case upon his capacity to persuade and to convince the people. By sheer intellectual strength and vigor of will he attracts men to him and to his policies. So Hamilton and Jefferson, so Lincoln and Douglas, so Gladstone. The political Boss, on the other hand, is below the horizon from which the public good is visible. Party success is his highest aim, and party success is interpreted in terms of his personal supremacy. He sur-

rounds himself with the weak and obedient, with those whose conscience is held safe prisoner behind the bars of ambition and desire for gain. He bases his hope of victory upon effective political machinery, upon a lavish expenditure of money, and upon promises of preferment. His arguments are alternately exhortations and threats. If victorious, his first thought is the aggrandizement and enrichment of himself and his family, and, if possible, of some of the more important of his followers. If defeated, he is at once in secret communication with his triumphant adversary for such share of the spoils as will serve to support him and his until the next contest occurs. More than one state and not a few American cities can frame a particular visage in this outline. What is to be done with the Boss?

Education of Public Opinion

First, try to understand why he exists. The Boss is the joint product of two factors — the checks and balances in our constitutional system, and the modern alliance of business and politics.

A written constitution is a device to fix man's political judgment and to protect it from his political passions. Our own Constitution may

Value of party organizations

Education of Public Opinion

well be called marvellous in view of what the century has seen. But its structure, particularly as imitated in the several commonwealths, while making parties necessary, has also made it easy for them to be abused. Mr. Ford, in his interesting book on the *Rise and Growth of American Politics*, has laid proper emphasis upon this much-neglected fact, and so helps us to see clearly that something more than ordinary human perversity is at work in producing the Boss. "The influence moulding all the conceptions, the idea regulating all the contrivances of those ardent politicians and able young lawyers [who framed the Constitution], intent upon obtaining some practical result to their labors, was the Whig doctrine of checks and balances of authority through distribution of the powers of government." [1] Unrestrained power and undivided responsibility were, therefore, lodged nowhere. The shadows of decaying absolutism were still dark and fearful. So it happened that in the Constitution central power was checked by power in the commonwealths, the executive by power in the legislature.

[1] Ford, *Rise and Growth of American Politics*, p. 51.

Without some unifying force this machinery would work with difficulty, if at all. There were many clashes and much crimination and recrimination while precedents were being made and policies established. Political parties grew up to provide, outside of the legal framework of government, the initiative, the control, and the responsibility for which no adequate constitutional provision was made. So it happens that the people have created for themselves extra-constitutional assemblies and conventions, organized according to party rules and respecting party beliefs, in which are framed the declarations of policy which are then submitted to the voters for arbitrament. In this respect the United States is in advance of Great Britain, where party policies are still largely framed, as was once the case here, by legislative representatives.

Education of Public Opinion

No mind can picture the chaos which would result if county officers, state officers, and national officers, acted as each might will, without harmony of principle or unity of plan. One would defy another, executive would antagonize legislature, and legislature executive: the wheels of govern-

Education of Public Opinion

ment would either stop or they would revolve with a rapidity which would enable their revolution to be recognized as such in the historical sense. What force or power acts as governor on all this complicated machinery, regulates its speed, brings about harmony of its parts, and so effectiveness in its operation? I answer, party organization. As extra-constitutional as the British cabinet, it is, like that body, the power which directs and controls the government. That which the framers of the Constitution would not permit in the government has grown up outside of it. This is the real basis for the peculiar place occupied by the American political parties, and it ought never to be lost sight of in estimating the meaning, the abuses, and the necessary limitations of party action.

But these powerful party organizations, with their abundant opportunities for advancement to power and to fame, have attracted the ambition of men whose aims and methods are not worthy ones. Such men are the raw material for the Boss, be it in ward, city, county, or state. To manufacture the finished Boss out of this raw material requires

the possession of something, power or patronage, which may be sold. Public officers were the first valuable counters in the game, public privileges are the second. The principle of civil service reform must be so pressed forward and extended that the public offices shall be torn from the grasp of the Boss and his office-holding oligarchy and returned to the people to be allotted to worthy candidates, of whatever political creed, on the basis of merit alone. That is the only possible principle of civil service administration which is consistent with democracy.

Education of Public Opinion

Of recent years the sale of public privileges has proved more profitable than the peddling of offices. This is due to the close alliance between business and politics which has grown up in this country since the Civil War, and which has been helped on amazingly by the necessity of securing legislative sanction and administrative protection for the thousand and one large enterprises of a semi-public character which have developed all over the country, but particularly in and about the rapidly growing centres of population. These enterprises are very profitable; they begin to

Business in politics

make returns at once. Men of affairs are eager to embark upon them; they will be a public benefit. What more stimulating to a legislature than the hint that the projectors of a given undertaking, for which a public franchise is asked, are good party men, and what return more natural on their part than a handsome contribution for campaign purposes to the Boss who has dropped the hint? These are "business methods" in politics, and they are far more dangerous to freedom than the more overt and dramatic forms of treason. The one question which should never be heard in pure politics is the same question which should never be heard in a university: it is the business man's question — will it pay? Ask, is it right, is it just, is it wise, is it necessary; but never ask, will it pay?

An interesting example of the working of this business principle in politics may be found in the recent political history of the city of New York. The scene is laid in New York, where a legislative committee is making inquiry concerning some aspects of the municipal government. In the witness chair sits Richard Croker, a private citizen

in the eye of the law, but in fact, at the time, the unchallenged monarch of a community of three and a half millions of people: —

"Then we have this," Mr. Moss [counsel for the investigating committee] suggested, "that you participate in the selection of judges before they are elected, and then participate in emolument that comes of their judicial proceedings?"

"Yes, sir," Mr. Croker answered.

"And it goes in your pocket?"

"Yes; that is my own money," the witness asserted.

"And the nomination of the judges by Tammany Hall in this city is almost equivalent to an election, is it not?" Mr. Moss asked.

"Yes."

"So that, if you have a controlling voice in the affairs of your party and secure the nomination of true men, you may be sure that at least in the Real Estate Exchange and in the firm of Meyer & Croker you will, as a true Democrat, get some of the patronage?"

"We expect them at least to be friendly," Mr. Croker answered, deprecatingly.

"And get a part of the patronage?"

"Yes, sir."

"So you are working for your own pocket?"

"All the time, and you, too," the Tammany leader answered in a firm tone.

"Then it is not a matter of wide statesmanship, or patriotism altogether, with you, but it is wide statesmanship, patriotism, and personal gain mixed up?" Mr. Moss remarked.

"It is 'to the victor belong the spoils,'" was the only reply Mr. Croker could make, but it was brimful of meaning.[1]

This is likely long to remain the *locus classicus* as to the relation between modern politics and modern business. Its principle is of wide application; its extraordinary features are its brutal frankness, its naïve unconsciousness of wrong-doing, and the fact that the offices whose control is avowed ought to be the most sacred in our entire government, those of the judges of the Supreme Court. The less of such "business" we have in politics, the longer we shall have any politics to engage in.

[1] New York *Tribune*, April 15, 1899.

Education of Public Opinion

Individual responsibility for public policy

In a brief discussion it is quite impossible to follow the formation of public opinion through its various phases. The part played by the press, by the pulpit, and by the platform, each needs study. The fact that men frequently act not as individuals but as groups, in taking part in determining the policy of a still larger group, is of great significance and of much practical importance. The so-called labor vote, the Grand Army vote, the Irish vote, and other groups are cajoled and humored because of this fact. Many members of such a group have already abdicated any independence they may have possessed, in joining it, and are thenceforward counted as part of the faithful following of a group-leader who trades and sells or stampedes his followers, as circumstances may determine. The effect of increasing toleration is also very marked. It aids in securing that full hearing and that suspension of judgment which always make for wisdom of decision and for sanity of action.

I have now set out the main facts to which I desired to direct attention. My argument has aimed to show the necessary dependence of indi-

Education of Public Opinion

vidual well-being upon social and political health, the responsibility which rests upon every individual to promote that health, and the factors, individual and party, which are at work in the process. That the party system has a stable foundation and that the parties have just claims upon us, I hold most strongly. That the system is, and perhaps always will be, liable to abuse, is self-evident. That the Boss must be displaced for the leader at all hazards, goes without saying. To accomplish this, the first step is relentless Boss punishment at the polls. The second step is to take away his capital by establishing a reformed and democratic civil service and by putting a stop to his ability to dispose of public privileges for personal or for party gain. The third step is to relegate business principles to business, and to confine politics to ends properly political.

All this again comes back to the point from which we started, the individual citizen. There is no trench in which he may hide, no bomb-proof to which the weapons of responsibility will not follow him. Are you politically alert? Are you politically honest? If not, you are a bad

citizen and a corrupter, however innocent, of public opinion. If you are politically alert, the standard which you set is a high one, worthy of imitation by your neighbor. You are doing something to educate public opinion.

Education of Public Opinion

DEMOCRACY AND EDUCATION

AN ADDRESS

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION

AT BUFFALO, NEW YORK,

JULY 7, 1896

DEMOCRACY AND EDUCATION

PHILOSOPHERS, poets, and sometimes men of science are fond of speculating on an answer to the question, Whither are we tending? But more personal matters and more immediate interests detain the attention of the vast majority of mankind. The mere question of absolute physical direction, to say nothing of the tendencies of institutions and ideals, lies far beyond the range of vision of the average man. The passenger in a railway train moving west may walk leisurely eastward, within the limits of the train, and feel certain of his direction and speed. But the train travelling westward, forty miles an hour, is on the surface of a planet that revolves on its axis from west to east with a velocity of a thousand miles an hour. More than this, the earth is also plunging forward in space, in its orbit about the sun, at the fearful rate of more than eleven hundred miles per minute; while as a mem-

Quo vadis?

ber of the solar system it drifts rapidly with its fellows toward a distant point in the constellation Hercules. Perhaps the whole sidereal system, the entire cosmos even, has yet other motions of its own. How hopeless, then, is it to attempt to trace the exact path, judged by an absolute standard, of a body moving on the earth's surface! The very conception staggers us, and our imaginations fall back helpless.

Nor is it otherwise with the directions and tendencies of things intellectual and institutional. The *Laudator temporis acti* is convinced that civilization is just now on a downward grade. The old order has changed and given place to a new; and the new order seems to him to lack something of the robustness, the idealism, the valor, of the old. His antagonist, fresh from contemplating the abstract rights of man as depicted by modern political philosophers, sees hope and promise only in the future; to such an observer the past is a record of folly, imperfection, and crime. The sane man may be forgiven if at times he fails to listen with patience to either advocate. He loses his sanity, however, if he

attempts to take refuge in cynicism and pessimism. While we may not hope to grasp fully the significance of movements of which we ourselves are a part, we can nevertheless study them, trace their beginnings, and measure their present effects. Such an attitude, hopeful yet cautious, leads to the only point of view which is at once scientific and philosophical.

However difficult it may be to estimate present tendencies with any precision or authority, there is a widespread instinctive feeling among thoughtful men, as Mr. Kidd has pointed out in the first pages of his *Social Evolution*, that a definite stage in the evolution of our civilization is drawing to a close and that we are face to face with a new era. The history of the nineteenth century lends color to the suggestion that the new era has already begun. The evidence for this is drawn from the records of material advance, of scientific progress, and of political development.

The new era

The material advances made since the nineteenth century opened are more numerous and more striking than the sum total of those that all previous history records. We find it diffi-

cult even to imagine the world of our grandfathers, and almost impossible to appreciate or understand it. Without the factory, without the manifold products and applications of steam and electricity, without even the newspaper and the sulphur match, the details of our daily life would be strangely different. In our time wholly new mechanical and economic forces are actively at work, and have already changed the appearance of the earth's surface. What another hundred years may bring forth no one dares to predict.

The scientific progress of the century is no less marvellous and no less revolutionary in its effects than the material advance. The nebular hypothesis, once the speculative dream of a few mathematicians and philosophers, is now a scientific commonplace. The geology of Lyell, the astronomy of Herschel, the biology of von Baer, of Darwin, and of Huxley, the physiology of Müller, the physics of Helmholtz and of Roentgen, are already part of the common knowledge of all educated men. To us the world and its constitution present an appearance very different from that which was familiar to our ancestors.

Democracy and Education

But most striking and impressive of all movements of the century is the political development toward the form of government known as democracy. Steadily and doggedly throughout the ten decades the movement toward democracy has gone its conquering way. When the century opened, democracy was a chimera. It had been attempted in Greece and Rome and again in the Middle Ages; and the reflecting portion of mankind believed it to be a failure. Whatever its possibilities in a small and homogeneous community, it was felt to be wholly inapplicable to large states. The contention that government could be carried on by what Mill called collective mediocrity rather than by the intelligent few, was felt to be preposterous. The horrible spectre of the French Revolution was fresh in the minds of men. The United States, hardly risen from their cradle, were regarded by the statesmen of Europe with a curiosity, partly amused, partly disdainful. Germany was governed by an absolute monarch, the grandnephew of the great Frederick himself. In England a constitutional oligarchy, with Pitt at its head, was firmly intrenched in power. The

Spread of democracy

Napoleonic reaction was in full swing in France. How different the spectacle at the opening of the twentieth century! In Great Britain one far-reaching reform after another has left standing only the shell of oligarchy; the spirit and support of British civilization are democratic. Despite the influence of other forces, great progress is being made toward the democratization of Germany. France, after a period of unexampled trouble and unrest, has founded a successful and, we are glad to believe, a stable republic. The United States have disappointed every foe and falsified the predictions of every hostile critic. The governmental framework constructed by the fathers for less than four millions of people, scattered along a narrow strip of seaboard, has expanded easily to meet the needs of a diverse population twenty times as large, gathered into great cities and distributed over an empire of seacoast, mountain, plain, and forest. It has withstood the shock of the greatest civil war of all time, fought by men of high intelligence and determined convictions. It has permitted the development and expansion of a civilization in which there is equality of oppor-

tunity for all, and where the highest civil and military honors have been thrust upon the children of the plain people by their grateful fellow-citizens.

Democracy and Education

So significant has this phenomenon of democracy become, so widespread is its influence, and so dominating are its ideals, that we have rightly begun to study it both with the impartial eye of the historian and by the analytic method of the scientist. The literature of democracy for the past half century is extremely important; and Tocqueville, Bagehot, Scherer, Carlyle, Maine, Bryce, and Lecky are but a few of the great names that have contributed to it. Through all the pages of these writers runs an expression of the conviction that the stream of tendency toward democracy can neither be turned back nor permanently checked. Some of these students of democracy are its enthusiastic advocates, others are its hostile critics: all alike seem to resign themselves to it.

The process of substituting this new social and political system for an older one has not been uninterrupted or untroubled, nor has it given perfect satisfaction. As the political pendulum has con-

tinued to swing through a wide but diminishing arc, the cries have been loud and constant that injustice and favoritism have not been suppressed, that all are not equally prosperous, and that not even democracy is a cure for all our distress and dissatisfaction. Much of this is no doubt due to the tendency in all stages of history, spoken of by Burke, to ascribe to prevailing forms of government ills that in reality flow from the constitution of human nature. But in part at least — in how great part perhaps we fail to recognize — it is due to the imperfect and halting application of our democratic ideals and the very partial acceptance of our democratic responsibilities. The platitudes of democracy are readily accepted by the crowd; the full depth of its principles is far from being generally understood. It is easy to cry "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity," and to carve the words in letters of stone upon public buildings and public monuments. It is not so easy to answer the query whether, in truth, unrestricted liberty and perfect equality are at all compatible. For it has been pointed out that liberty leads directly to inequality, based upon the

Equality and liberty

natural differences of capacity and application among men. Equality, on the other hand, in any economic sense, is attainable only by the suppression, in some degree, of liberty, in order that, directly or indirectly, the strong arm of the state may be able to hold back the precocious and to push forward the sluggish. Obviously there is food for thought in this, — thought that may serve to check the rhetorical exuberance of the enthusiast, and lead him to ask whether we yet fully grasp what democracy means.

Democracy is, as I have said, a movement so novel, so sweeping, that we have not yet had time to compare it closely, in all its phases, with monarchy and oligarchy. The advantages of those forms of political organization were manifest when society was young and man's institutional life yet undeveloped. As time went on, the weaknesses of such forms of government became apparent. The plunge into democracy was made, and we have usually gone no farther than to contrast its blessings with what we know of the oppression and iniquity that resulted from kingship and oligarchy in the early modern period. We must,

Democracy and Education

however, go farther than this, and gain a truer and deeper insight into the institutional life of which we are a part.

It is just here that we find evidence of the close relations that exist between democracy and education. So long as the direction of man's institutional life was in the hands of one or the few, the need for a wide diffusion of political intelligence was not strongly felt. The divine right of kings found its correlative in an almost diabolical ignorance of the masses. There was no educational ideal, resting upon a social and political necessity, that was broad enough to include the whole people. But the rapid widening of the basis of sovereignty has changed all that. No deeper conviction pervades the people of the United States and of France, who are the most aggressive exponents of democracy, than that the preservation of liberty under the law, and of the institutions that are our precious possession and proud heritage, depends upon the intelligence of the whole people. It is on this unshakable foundation that the argument for public education at public expense really rests.

It was not by accident that the Greek philosophers made their contributions to educational theory in treatises on the nature and functions of the state. Both Plato and Aristotle had a deep insight into the meaning of man's social and institutional life. To live together with one's fellows in a community involves fitness so to live. This fitness, in turn, implies discipline, instruction, training; that is, education. The highest type of individual life is found in community life. Ethics passes into or includes politics, and the education of the individual is education for the state. The educated Greek at the height of his country's development was taught to regard participation in the public service alike as a duty and a privilege. The well-being of the community was constantly before him as an ideal of personal conduct. To depart from that point of view is to entail the gravest consequences. That a large proportion of our people, and among their number some of the most highly trained, have departed from it, needs no proof.

Education and politics

Failure to understand the political life of a democratic state and failure to participate fully

in it, lead directly to false views of the state and its relations to the individual citizen. Instead of being regarded as the sum total of the citizens who compose it, the state is, in thought at least, then regarded as an artificial creation, the plaything of so-called politicians and wire-pullers. This view, that the individual and the state are somehow independent each of the other, is not without support in modern political philosophy, but it is a crude and superficial view. It gives rise to those fallacies that regard the state either as a tyrant to be resisted or as a benefactor to be courted. No democracy can endure permanently on either basis. The state is the completion of the life of the individual, and without it he would not wholly live. To inculcate that doctrine should be an aim of all education in a democracy. To live up to it should be the ideal of the nation's educated men.

The individual and the state

Impossible in theory as the separation of the state from the individuals who compose it seems, yet in practice it is found to exist. This is true in the United States, and in some localities more than others. Our constitutional system, elabo-

rately adjusted so that each individual's choice may count in the ascertainment of the common will, now shelters a system of party organization and of political practice, undreamt of by the fathers, that, in many parts of the country, effectually reduces our theoretical democracy to an oligarchy, and that oligarchy by no means an aristocracy. With here and there an exception, the educated men of the country hold themselves too much aloof — or are held aloof — from participation in what is called practical politics. That field of activity which should attract the highest intelligence of the nation too often repels it. When a man of the most highly trained powers engages in political life, he becomes an object of curiosity and comment. If he despises the petty arts and chicaneries of the demagogue, he becomes "unpopular," or is held to be "unpractical." After a brief interval he passes off the public stage without even a perfunctory recognition of his services. It is safe to say that the framers of no government, least of all the framers of our own, contemplated a practical outcome such as this. If education and training unfit men for political life, then there

Democracy and Education

is something wrong either with our political life or with our education.

The men and women of America, in particular the teachers, should address themselves to this question with determination and zeal. Instruction in civil government is good; the inculcation of patriotism is good; the flag upon the schoolhouse is good. But all these devices lie upon the surface. The real question involved is ethical. It reaches deep down to the very foundations of morality. It is illuminated by history.

Education in a democracy

The public education of a great democratic people has other aims to fulfil than the extension of scientific knowledge or the development of literary culture. It must prepare for intelligent citizenship. More than a century ago Burke wrote that "the generality of people are fifty years, at least, behindhand in their politics. There are but very few who are capable of comparing and digesting what passes before their eyes at different times and occasions, so as to form the whole into a distinct system." This is the warning of one of the greatest of publicists, that a thoroughly instructed and competent public opinion on po-

litical matters is difficult to attain. Yet, unless we are to surrender the very principle on which democracy rests, we must struggle to attain it. Something may be accomplished by precept, something by direct instruction, much by example. The words "politics" and "politician" must be rescued from the low esteem into which they have fallen, and restored to their ancient and honorable meaning. It is safe to say that the framers of our Constitution never foresaw that the time would come when thousands of intelligent men and women would regard "politics" as beneath them, and when a cynical unwillingness to participate in the choice of persons and policies would develop among the people. Yet such is, of course, the case.

In a great state like New York, for example, a governor is chosen every second year. The power and dignity of the office make it one of the greatest in the land. About one and a half million qualified voters are entitled to participate in the choice. Theoretically any competent person might be put forward for the office, and every individual's preference would be recorded and

weighed. As a matter of fact, however, the choice of the state must be made between two persons, who in turn will be selected by, perhaps, ten per cent of the electorate, at the suggestion or dictation of not more than a dozen men. Had such a system, or anything like it, been proposed at the time the Constitution was adopted, there would have been instant rebellion. "Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" would not have seemed worth having under such conditions. Yet, now that it has come about, there is no very great dissatisfaction with it. The system could be broken up in a twelvemonth if men really cared to break it up. It exists, therefore, by popular consent, if not with popular approval. Its objective results may be as good as those that would be reached by the ideal system; but its effect on the individual is certainly unfortunate. It induces a feeling of irresponsibility for public policy and a lack of interest in it that are destructive of good citizenship. The good citizen is not the querulous critic of public men and public affairs, however intelligent he may be; he is rather the constant participator in political struggles, who has well-

The good citizen

grounded convictions and a strong determination to influence, by all honorable means, the opinion of the community. Were it otherwise, universal suffrage would not be worth having, and public education would be a luxury, not a necessity.

We do not better ourselves or serve the public interest by berating those who do interest themselves continually in politics, when their aims and their methods are not to our liking. There can be no doubt that the patriotic and well-intentioned element in the community is stronger and more numerous than the self-seeking and evil-dispositioned. It has the remedy in its own hands, and it is one of the chief duties of our education to enforce this truth.

Bad effect of the Spoils System

Much of the disinclination to engage in active political life that is noticeable among a portion of our people is to be traced, I believe, to the evil effects upon political standards and methods that flow from the debasing and degrading system of treating public office as a reward for partisan activity, that has gained so strong a hold in the United States. The spoils system is absolutely undemocratic and utterly unworthy of toleration

by an intelligent people. Suppose that it ruled the schools, as it rules so many other departments of public administration: then we should expect to see the election of a mayor in Boston, Chicago, New Orleans, or San Francisco, followed by hundreds of changes among the public-school teachers, made solely for political reasons. How long would that be permitted to go on without a protest that would be heard and heeded from Maine to Texas? Yet why should we, as good citizens, be more tolerant of such abuses in other departments of the government?

Patriotic men have noted with gratification the progress that is making toward the elimination of this evil. A determined band have kept the issue before the public for nearly a generation, and now they have the satisfaction of seeing the greater portion of the national service wrested from the defiling hand of the spoils hunter. In the state of New York the people themselves put into their present constitution an emphatic declaration on the subject. The full effect of this declaration, splendidly upheld and broadly interpreted by the courts, is just beginning to dawn upon the

foes of a reformed and efficient public service. From this advance of sound sentiment and honest policy we may take every encouragement. But much remains to be done. Public sentiment must be first interested, then educated.

Democracy and Education

Efficient public service is a mark of civilization. To turn over the care of great public undertakings to the self-seeking camp-followers of some political potentate, is barbaric. Teachers are the first to insist that incompetent and untrained persons shall not be allowed in the service of the schools. Why, then, should they tolerate the sight of a house-painter, instead of an engineer, supervising the streets and roadways of a city of a hundred thousand inhabitants, or that of an illiterate hanger-on of a party boss presiding over the public works of a great metropolis? These instances, drawn at random from recent political history, are typical of conditions that will be found widely diffused throughout our public service. Those conditions exist because of bad citizenship, low ideals of public service, and wretchedly inadequate moral vision. They will not be remedied until each one of us assumes his share of the task.

Democracy and Education

It is instructive, too, to note that the spoils system has diverted public interest in great measure from choice between policies to a choice between men. Two hundred years ago men made great sacrifices for an opportunity to share in the making of the laws by which they were governed. Yet when the people of the state of New York were called upon to vote, at one and the same election, for a governor and for or against a new constitution, containing many important and some novel propositions, more than a million and a quarter men voted for a candidate for governor, while less than three-quarters of a million expressed themselves regarding the proposed constitution. And this is by no means a solitary instance of the tendency that it illustrates. A rational and intelligent democracy will first discuss questions of principle and then select agents to carry their determinations into effect. To fix our interest solely on individuals, and to overlook or neglect the principles for which they stand, is not intelligent.

Imperfections of democracy

It is a serious error, too, to believe, and to spread the belief, that democracies have nothing to learn as to principles of government and nothing to

improve. From the time of Aristotle the dangers that are inherent in democracy have been known and discussed. But in our time men are often too blinded by the brilliancy of the manifest successes and advantages of this form of government to be able or willing to consider carefully the other side of the picture. How long, for example, could the American Congress maintain its power and prestige, if its membership was split up into half a score of warring groups, as in France? How long will the American Senate continue to call forth the respect and confidence of the people, if its methods of transacting public business and its inability to close its own debates are allowed to continue? How long would life in our great cities be endurable, if their administration be turned over permanently to the ignorant and the rapacious? What more distressing division of our people can there be than one on sectional lines, such as took place in 1860 and such as was attempted again in 1896? Is it possible to believe that our native optimism is all that is needed to extricate us from these dangers — dangers not imaginary, but terribly real?

Democracy and Education

The difficulties of democracy are the opportunities of education. If our education be sound, if it lay due emphasis on individual responsibility for social and political progress, if it counteract the anarchistic tendencies that grow out of selfishness and greed, if it promote a patriotism that reaches farther than militant jingoism and battleships, then we may cease to have any doubts as to the perpetuity and integrity of our institutions.

I am profoundly convinced that the greatest educational need of our time, in higher and lower schools alike, is a fuller appreciation on the part of the teachers of what human institutions really mean and what tremendous moral issues and principles they involve. The ethics of individual life must be traced to its roots in the ethics of the social whole. The family, property, the common law, the state, and the church, are all involved. These, and their products, taken together, constitute civilization and mark it off from barbarism. Inheritor of a glorious past, each generation is a trustee for posterity. To preserve, protect, and transmit its inheritance unimpaired, is its highest

duty. To accomplish this is not the task of the few, but the duty of all.

That democracy alone will be triumphant which has both intelligence and character. To develop them among the whole people is the task of education in a democracy. Not by vainglorious boasting, not by self-satisfied indifference, not by selfish and indolent withdrawal from participation in the interests and government of the community, but rather by the enthusiasm, born of intense conviction, that finds the happiness of each in the good of all, will our educational ideals be satisfied and our free government be placed beyond the reach of the forces of dissolution and decay.

Triumphant democracy

INDEX

Achievement, Recognition of, 57–58.
Acton, Lord, on the theory of equality of the French Revolution, 7–9.
Administration, efficient, by single responsible agents, A false view of, 36; fundamental distinction between government and, 36–37.
Advances, Material, of the nineteenth century, 81–82.
Americans schooled in democracy, 5.
Aristocracy of intellect and service, Need of an, 14; Lincoln an immortal example of, 19.
Arnold, Matthew, Rebuke of Professor Clifford by, 28; doctrine of the remnant, 56.
Association, the essence of democracy, 37.
Athenian citizen, Pericles on the, 43.

Bagehot on unconscious imitation, 51.
Beliefs and actions, Our, guided by feeling and imitation, 53–55.
Boss, The, 63–65; party success in terms of personal supremacy, the aim of, 64; why he exists, 65; raw material for and manufacture of, 68–69; civil service reform must overthrow, 69; must be displaced, 74.
British civilization, The spirit and support of, democratic, 84.
Burke, Edmund, on the duty of a representative, 17–18; on what Parliament is, 18; on public opinion in politics, 92.
Business in politics, 69–72; Richard Croker on, 71–72; must be eliminated, 74.
Byron, Lord, on democracy, 6.

Character and intelligence, The upbuilding of, provided for, 4.
Character, national, The making of, 51–52.
Checks and balances of authority in government, 65–66.
Citizen, The bad, 49–50; the good, 94–95.
Citizenship, bad, Conditions arising from, and our individual responsibility toward, 97.
Civilization the result of wealth and leisure, 27; a new era in the evolution of, 81–82.
Class distinctions, Passing of, 48.

Clemenceau, M., on individualist democracy and liberty, 6–7.
Cleveland, Grover, as executive, 33.
Community-given monopoly results in exploitation, 22.
Compromise, The true spirit of, 63.
Congress, and state legislatures — their one proper concern, 18; invading the province of the executive and the judiciary, 30–33.
Constitution, Checks and balances provided in the, 65–67.
Croker, Richard, on business in politics, 71–72.
Cross-voting, Dangers of, 62.

Demagogues, False democracy exalts, and decries leaders, 17; as mischief-makers, 25.
Democracies, Most early, were oligarchies, 46.
Democracy and education, 79–101.
Democracy, True and false, 3–39; is it understood? 5; what is democracy? 6; definitions of Byron and Mazzini, 6; debate on, between Juarès and Clemenceau, 6–7; socialistic and individualist, 7; clew to distinction between true and false, 10; true, will elevate wisest to leadership, 13; will provide education and opportunity, 14; characteristics of a false, 15; true, believes nothing settled till settled right, 16; creates leadership and follows it, 16–17; Is democracy a faction? 19–20; to secure justice without sacrificing liberty, the purpose of true, 20; to prevent exploitation, 21, 23; to strengthen and protect the executive, 35–36; evils of false, 37–38; ideals of true, 38–39; place of public opinion in a, 44–45; modern theoretical often oligarchical, 46; the *élite* in a, 56; natural inequality the corner-stone of, 57; spread of, 83; in Great Britain, Germany, and France, and the United States, 84–85; the literature of, important, 85; platitudes of, accepted, principles of, not understood, 86; relations of, with education, 88; the state and the individual in a, 90–91; education in a, 92–93; imperfections and difficulties of, 98–99; the opportunities of education, 100; triumphant democracy, 101.
Democrats, theoretical, American and French, 46–47.
Direction, Question of absolute physical, hopelessly indeterminate, 79–80.
Douglas, 64.

Economic and industrial life, Changes in, 20.
Economic and social questions more pressing than political, 3.
Educated men hold aloof from practical politics, 91.

Education and moral regeneration, The hope for human nature lies in, 19–20, 22.
Education and opportunity, True democracy will provide, 14.
Education, Democracy and, 79–101; close relations between, 88.
Education, Formal, the shaping of the individual by the community, 54–55.
Education of public opinion, 43–75.
Education, public, at public expense, Foundation of the argument for, 88; education and politics, 89; must prepare for intelligent citizenship, 92; and enforce, 95; the difficulties of democracy the opportunities of, 100; the task of, in a democracy, 101.
Élite, The, in a democracy, 56.
Equality, economic, and liberty, Everlasting contradiction between, 7, 9–10, 57, 87; Lord Acton on, 7–8; Marat's theory of, 8–9; a false and spurious, 11; of rights and of opportunity, 58, 84.
Equality, Nature knows no such thing as, 56–57.
Equality, Political, incident to liberty, 9; and essential to it, 10.
Equality the shibboleth of socialistic democracy, 7.
Era, The new, 81–82.
Estates, The, of the Middle Ages, 48.
Evolution, Social and political, 47–48.
Executive branch the most efficient representative of the popular will, 33, 34–35; true democracy will strengthen the, 35–36.
Exploitation of man by man, 20–21; of one by all, 21–22; how to be prevented, 23.

Faculty, The directing, 26.
Feelings and imitation, Part played by, in guiding our beliefs and actions, 52–55.
Ford, H. J., on checks and balances of authority in government, 66.
Fraternity, 7, 39, 86.
Freedom of speech and of opinion, 47.
Free state, A, and its foundations, 38; political integrity of, 44.
French Revolution, Lord Acton on the theory of equality of the, 7–9; Taine on the mob element in the, 24–25; the spectre of the, 83.

Gladstone, 64.
Governmental agents and individual initiative, 20.
Government and administration, Compromise of, 36–37.
Government, Effectiveness in operation of, secured through party organization, 67–68.
Greek, The educated, 89.
Group action in politics, 73.

Hamilton, 64.
Happiness and prosperity not universal, 19.

Human nature, Slow progress of, toward highest ethical standards, 19.
Hume, 55.

Idols of the market-place, Worship of the, 3.
Imitations, unconscious, Parts played by, 51–55.
Independent, The political, 61.
Independent vote, Value of an, 62.
Individual initiative under state regulation, 24.
Individual, Value of the, 14; relation between the community and the, 22; complex relationships of the, 48–49; responsibility of, for political party, 73–74; the individual and the mass, 50–51; dependent on external influences, 52; feeling and imitation, 53–54; relation of the, to public opinion, 58–59; to political parties, 59–60; and the state, 90–91.

Jefferson contemplated democracy and slavery side by side, 46; as a leader, 64.
Juarès, M., on socialistic democracy and equality, 6–7.
Judiciary, Congress has no power to restrict the, 30–31.
Justice demands inequality, 15; not yet established between man and man, 19.

Kidd, Benjamin, on the dawn of a new era, 81.
Kings, Divine right of, and ignorance of the masses, 88.

Labor, Confusion in use of term, 25–26.
Law and authority, Decline in reverence and respect for, 37–38.
Leadership, Genuine, possible in a democratic state, 18.
Leader, The political, and the Boss, 63–65; examples of true leaders, 64.
Le Bon, quoted, 56.
Legislative branch of government inferior to executive and judicial in representing the will of the people, 29–30; invasion of their provinces by the, 31–33; influence of private interests with the, 35.
Liberty and economic equality, Everlasting contradiction between, 7, 9–10, 57, 87.
Liberty and property are social creations, 49.
Liberty the watchword of individualist democracy, 7; has liberty lost its charm? 10–11; far more precious than equality, 57; leads to inequality, 86.
Lincoln, Abraham, an immortal example of leadership and aristocracy of service, 19; as executive in the Civil War, 33; as a leader, 64.
Lowell the poet of true democracy, 16.
Lust for gain, Only cure for, 27–28.

Madison, James, on dangers of legislative encroachment, 32–33.
Manual labor a subordinate element in production, 26.
Marat's theory of equality, 8–9.
Maudsley on how little reasoning men do, 53.
Mazzini's definition of democracy, 6, 13.
Mill, 55.
Milton's definition of the good citizen, 50.
Mob, The, versus the people, 24–26; surest antidote to, 29.
Monopoly or privilege, Community-given, 22.
Morley, John, quoted, 63.

New York, How a governor is nominated in, 93–94.
Nineteenth century, Material progress in the, 81–82; scientific, 82; political development of democracy in, 83–85.

Oligarchy, Only the shell of, left in Great Britain, 84.

Parliament, Edmund Burke on what it is, 18.
Parties, political, Origin of, 59; relation of citizen to, 60; effect on, of an independent vote, 62; need leaders, 63; value of party organizations, 65–69; easily abused, 66; define party policies, 67; extra-constitutional power of, 68; the Boss in, 68–69; business methods in, 69–70; individual responsibility for, 73; the good citizen in, 94–95.
Party system, The, 59–60; independence of, 61; reduces theoretical democracy to an oligarchy, 91.
Peel, Sir Robert, on public opinion, 45.
People's policies, The, and their executive agent, 37.
Pericles on the Athenian citizen, 43.
Political action the result of two forces, 44.
Political agencies, Our three, 29.
Political agents, extension of collective work through, 4.
Political and economic exploitation, 20–22; how to be prevented, 23.
Political conditions at beginning of twentieth century, 46–47.
Political thought and action, New order of, 4.
Politics, The possible and the becoming in, 62–63; the one question never to be asked in, 70; held in low esteem, 93; the good citizen in, 94–95.
Popular government possible only through political parties, 59.
President, The, and Supreme Court express the highest will of the whole people, 30, 33, 34; Congress invading the province of, 30–31; responsible only to the people, 34; true democracy will protect, 35–36.

Private interest works in committee-rooms of legislatures, 35.
Problems of to-day chiefly economic and social, 3.
Property, Liberty and, social creations, 49.
Property, private, Concept of, well-known, 23.
Property, public, Definition of, needed, 23.
Public offices must be taken from control of the Boss, 69.
Public opinion, Effective expression of, 29; its place in a democracy, 44; force of, 45; Sir Robert Peel on, 45; a new creation, 45–46; difficulty of directing, 46; relation of the individual to, 50, 58–59; genesis of, 52; how formed and changed, 54; uneven progress of, 55; influence of the party system on, 59; formation of, 73–75.
Public policy, Irresponsibility of the individual for, 94.
Public privileges, Sale of, 69; must be stopped, 74.
Public service, Efficient, the mark of civilization, 97.

Questions, Economic and social, more pressing than political, 3.
Quo vadis? 79–81.

Radicalism, The healthy, of a true democracy, 39.
Reason, conscious, Proportion of, in the individual, 55
Reasoning, How little, men do, 53.
Reforms, how set in motion 55–56.
Representative, The real, 17–18.
Reverence and respect for law and authority, Decline of, 37–38.
Rome, What is the lesson of, for America? 13.
Roosevelt, Theodore, as executive, 34.

Sainte-Beuve's two classes of authors, 27.
Salisbury, Lord, on socialism, 5.
Scientific progress of the nineteenth century, 82.
Senate, The American, and its business methods, 99.
Ship-money, John Hampden's, 50.
Socialism, Lord Salisbury on, 5; its aim, 12–13.
Socialist propaganda, The, 11–14; aims of, 12; unpractical programme of, 24.
Socialistic democracy, Evil results of, 21, 22.
Society, Who shall order? 49.
Spoils system, Bad effects of the, 95–96; progress toward elimination of the, 96–97; diverts attention from principles to men, 98.
State, The, and the individual citizen, 90.
"State, The, we are it," 49.
Statesmen and leaders, Two classes of, 27.

Taine on characteristics of the mob, 24–25.

Teachers, Responsibility of, as citizens, 97, 100.
Tendencies of institutions and ideas, 79–81.
Thinking, Genuine, plays little part in our life, 52–53.

Usurpation, Legislative, 31.

Wealth of the United States, If all the, were equally divided, 57.
Wealth, The problem of, 27–28.
Welfare, Human, the main object of government, 4.

This book is DUE on the last date stamped below

JAN 6 1941
RECEIVED
LD-URL
DEC 14 1942
MAY 6 1965
DEC 14 1942
AM 7-4 4-9 PM 9-10
OCT 12 1931
APR 16 1943
DEC 2 1932
JAN 19 1945
REC'D LD-URL
MAY 25 1949
LD URL DEC 1-1966
APR 12 1933
AUG 12 1950
DEC 1 1969
MAY 26 1933
SEP 12 1952
JAN 12 1934
AUG 23 REC'D
JUL 5 1935
MAY 14 1953
JUL 26 1935
MAY 22 1956
DEC 2 1935
NOV 1 1960
JUL 22 1936
AUG 25 1963
REC'D MLD
AUG 31 1963

Form L-9-35m-8,'28

THIS BOOK CARD

University Research Library

CALL NUMBER | SER | VOL | PT | COP | AUTHOR

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54

IBM L30202